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Color of Aggressor in the Formation of Responses to Frustration

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COLOR OF AGGRESSOR IN THE FORMATION
OF RESPONSES TO FRUSTRATION

by

Rudolph Emanuel Cook

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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1956

LIFE

Rudolph Emanuel Cook was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, May 30, 1928.

He was graduated from Central High School, Shreveport, Louisiana, June, 1945, and from Northwestern University, June, 1950, with the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.

From 1949 to 1952 the author was an underwriter with the Good Citizens Insurance Company of Chicago. He began his graduate studies at Loyola University in September, 1951.

The author began his work as intake worker with Chicago's Arthur J. Audy Home for Children in the summer of 1952, and is currently serving that institution as boys' case worker.

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Gratitude is extended to the individuals making this study possible. The Honorable Thomas E. Kluczynski, presiding judge in the Cook County Family Court at the time of the study, extended his approval for research with the children falling under his jurisdiction. Mr. James M. Jordan, superintendent of the Arthur J. Andy Home for Children, made the facilities of the Home available to me throughout the course of the research. Mr. Reginald M. Tinsley, of Northwestern University, gave invaluable assistance with the art work connected with the construction of the test cards utilized in the present research. To these and many others, I am genuinely grateful.

Rudolph E. Cook

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Social Role of Negroes. Many authors have made much of Negroes' second-class citizenship status and its ramifications in the formation of a distinctive Negro personality--Negroes' having to adapt to the same culture and accept the same social goals as whites, but without the opportunity to achieve them is generally described as being the determinant of the personality differences found existing between the Negro minority group members and the white majority group members. Similarly, much of the Negroes' overt behavior is attributed to the subservient roles assigned Negroes and their continuously being denied the right to participate fully, equally, and with real human dignity in the American culture (17). When the Negro rebels against this place assigned him by the majority group members, overtly and aggressively against the source of his frustration, inter-group conflict occurs.

Interestingly enough, prejudiced individuals receive support for their prejudices in what Dollard has termed "defensive beliefs" (9, p. 369). Dollard further explains that bigoted individuals are in reality rationalising their undemocratic beliefs when they insist on depicting all Negroes as worthless and lazy. Negroes are pictured as expecting aggression and mastery from whites and are not content unless it is obtained. This caricature of the Negro is posited by the bigot as the real purpose for restraining the Negro and keeping him subjected; if this is not done, the Negro would supposedly revolt

against the whites (9, pp. 363-388).

The present study will seek to study types of responses elicited from Negro subjects to this form of prejudicial aggression from whites. It will also seek to determine if this type of aggression is more readily accepted from other Negroes.

B. Frustration-Aggression Theory. In the early thirties, Dollard began to seek coordinating principles of motivation to assist him in the interpretation of cultural conflicts between such social groups as Southern Whites and Negroes. He formalized the basic statement that the fundamental antecedent of aggression is frustration (10). Dollard further described some of the aggressive archetypes as being swearing, complaining, biting, cruel joking, insulting remarks, spreading rumors, and even self-demeaning and suicide. The showing or expression of this aggression is explained by Dollard to vary according to: 1) strength of the motivation to commit aggression, 2) the degree to which frustration interferes with the organism, and 3) the number of interferences or frustrating response sequences (10, pp. 265-285).

In summary, the caste distinction pose for the Negro "...a chronic frustration situation" (9, p. 252), for not only does the system thwart social mobility through class lines, but, simultaneously tends to stifle effective protest by the threat of hostile retaliation from the majority group members.

C. Ego-Involvement. Closely related to the social role described above is the ego, wherein each person is said to consider himself in terms of the social role he fills. Thus, the "...frustration of a person's ego-needs, or conflict between his needs to see himself a certain way and the actual percept-

al pattern daily brought home to him,..." (33, p. 323) can lead to a wide variety of artifacts. This theoretical framework prompts the present writer to consider the inclusion of certain racial features in a testing situation to be sufficiently ego-involving to vary the motivation of Negro subjects.

According to Sherif and Cantril, (33, p. 4):

....the ego consists of many attitudes which from infancy on are related to the delimited, differentiated and accumulating "I," "me," "mine" experiences.... When these attitudes are situationally called for, when they are at any time consciously or unconsciously involved in this psychological function, we become involved, then our discrimination, judgment, perception, remembering, thinking, and explicit behavior are accordingly modified or altered.

A purpose of the ego is then to perceive the environment and react to stimuli in accordance with other stimuli, present or past, to which it is functionally related. When the subject is sufficiently identified with a certain social situation so that his motivational and attitudinal behavior is modified or altered, he is said to be ego-involved (33, pp. 152-153). For the present research the general descriptive term, ego-involvement, has the more specific and precise meaning of ego-frustration and has reference to those situations wherein the prestige, self-esteem, or ego of the subject is threatened. Simply, ego-frustration is what energizes or motivates the organism to alleviate the anxiety posing itself as a threat to the ego. This aspect of ego, and these modifications called ego-involvements are found to be of great assistance to the present writer in the formulation of his problem.

D. Purpose. The experimenter recognizes his problem to be the identification of the type and direction of aggressive responses given by Negro subjects experiencing ego-frustration from white aggressors, and to compare these responses with those given to Negro aggressors.

The ego-involving nature of the test pictures, to be devised and used by the present writer, arises from the fact that the test contains pictures of both Negro and white aggressors and thus is applicable, because of its captions, to each individual aggressor. Test responses of the subjects will be subjected to the objective scoring and summary of data as customarily done with the standardized Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study. In addition to this quantitative analysis of the test data, the present writer shall attempt a limited qualitative evaluation of the obtained results by scanning some of the more identifiable subtle ways of expressing aggression to frustration.

E. Hypotheses:

1. Responses of Negro subjects are modified and altered in accordance with the race of the aggressor.
2. Responses of Negro subjects on the proposed test will display a high degree of similarity, regardless of method of analysis or measure of performance utilized.
3. Responses of Negro subjects retain Negro-group uniformity and consistency which supersedes any subgroup distinctions within this Negro-group.

F. Objectives: The objectives of this study are to evaluate experimentally the above hypotheses:

1. Devise a test to measure differences shown by Negro subjects in response to frustration from white versus Negro aggressors.
2. Quantify the test responses by use of scoring symbols and methods as customarily done with the standardized Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study.
3. Ascertain possible differences contributed by certain individual, or sub-group variables.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

A. Socioculture and Projective Techniques. The research of the present writer lends itself especially well to projective techniques, since most of the related work has been done largely by use of this method. However, the number of studies completed with tests containing both Negro and white figures is not nearly as extensive as the number of systematic studies done with standardized and widely used tests containing figures of one color. Studies of this latter type usually compared responses of different groups of subjects in a test, while the research of the present writer attempts to compare performance of one highly related group of subjects on different sections of a test so devised to represent different racial groups.

Empirical observations of various writers on the importance of the culture in the formation of unique behavior patterns for different sub-groups have received some support in the research of experimenters utilizing various projective techniques. These projective test results have consistently shown the existence of "differences between the fantasy productions of individuals who belong to, or have been socialized in, different social groups." (19, p.16) For example, in a study done by Mussen wherein TAT protocols of fifty white and fifty Negro lower-class boys were analyzed it was concluded that "dynamic interpretations of an individual's projective responses can be made meaningful only if variations primarily attributable to his culture background are taken

into account." (23, p. 376)

This was Thompson's (36) thinking in shading the pictures contained in the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) to represent Negro figures for use with Negro subjects. These Negro subjects were shown by Thompson to have identified more readily with the modified form of the test (T-TAT) in that there was a significant increase in the length of the stories on the T-TAT as compared with the stories obtained while using the TAT. On the other hand, Riess and his associates (25) would question the usefulness of Thompson's modification of the TAT in that they found no significant increase in story productivity of Negro college students on the T-TAT as compared with the TAT.

According to the research reported, showing the absence of any "culture free" tests (16), it is difficult to believe the complete absence of differences in Riess' study. The thinking of the present writer is that a test situation could detect differences in responses of Negro subjects to white and Negro figures. Story productivity is only one of the many means by which Negro subjects can objectively display their response differences for different color aggressors; thus, the attempt of the present writer to utilize other measurements for the identification of these differences shown by Negro subjects in responding to white and Negro aggressors.

B. Rosenzweig's Projective Technique. To explore certain concepts of frustration theory, Rosenzweig developed the Picture Frustration Study (P-F). The study is described as being a "...controlled projective technique designed to assess typical reactions to frustration." (5, p. 36h) This test consists of twenty-four cartoon-pictures depicting a variety of mildly frustrating situations. Each page of the test booklet contains six cartoons and each cartoon

has portrayed two or more people conversing. Words attributed to the cartoon's aggressor are always given and it is the task of the subject to reply for the remaining figure, or victim, by writing his response in the blank space provided for that purpose.

Each of the responses to the twenty-four pictures can be scored as to direction of aggression and type of aggression shown by the subject in his response. Direction of aggression can be 1) Extropunitive, or upon the environment, 2) Intropunitive, or upon the self, and 3) Impunitive, wherein the subject belittles the importance of the frustration and avoids the display of any aggression by smoothing over the frustrating situation. The type of aggression score indicates whether or not a response is 1) Ego Defensive in its dwelling upon the question of who is to blame for the frustration, 2) Need Persistent in the seeking or demanding of some solution to the frustration, and 3) Obstacle Dominant to the point of appearing blocked by the frustration, and the subject attempts neither a solution to, nor blame for the frustrating situation (30).

Clarke (5) has completed a reliability study on the P-F, wherein was questioned the consistency with which P-F records could be scored by various examiners. The results of her study found each scorer achieving an average agreement with every other scorer of at least 70 per cent. On the new scoring revision, the total amount of disagreement was found to be 15 per cent when the scorers stopped to analyse the sources of their disagreements (5).

The present writer attempted no comparison of his results with Rosensweig's standardized sample (31), since such outstanding differences exist in both the make-up and samples used in the two tests. Of paramount concern to the present writer was the workableness of the Rosensweig scoring in identi-

ifying frustration.

C. P-F Research. The P-F has identified frustration and aggression where we would normally expect (31) it and where it is found by most personality tests and inventories. More outward aggression is displayed by men than women (3), and the extropunitive score has been shown to increase significantly following a frustrating experience (19). Further research by Linsway (19) found no significance in differences on any of the P-F dimensions in measuring the high and low sides of prejudice shown in two groups of Harvard students. The extropunitive and intropunitive dimensions in the P-F were furthermore reported not to correlate with the same dimensions as measured by the TAT (19).

Subjects tested with the P-F under experimentally controlled semi-starvation conditions were found to reveal a clearly identifiable need persistent response pattern (12). The semi-starved subjects were further found to be significantly different from Rosenzweig's standardisation group in the amount of extropunitive, impunitive, obstacle dominance and ego defensive aggression shown; they were not so significantly different from the standardisation group in regard to the intropunitive and need persistent variables.

The most direct aggression, as identified in mental patients on the P-F study, appears in the hebephrenic group, and, clinically, this group is considered the least integrated (1). The amount of aggression that is directly shown was found to be different for various groups of patients and the P-F showed this aggression to increase progressively from the catatonic, paranoid, social defective to the neurotic. Albee's research led him to conclude that the amount of aggression that is directly shown on the P-F is positively correlated with the type of disorder and prognosis of the mental illness (1).

Schneidler (32) utilized the P-F on subjects that had participated in ESP experiments and was able to report a positive relationship between ESP success and impunitiveness and a significant negative relationship between ESP success and extropunitiveness. She reports the interesting finding that subjects who are friendly, tolerant and less willing to display overt hostility (impunitive subjects) will have significantly better ESP success than those subjects that are ready to show overt hostility (extropunitive subjects). The impunitive response is held by Rosenzweig (26) to be positively related to hypnotizability, suggestibility, and repression as a preferred mechanism of ego defense. Reciprocally, those individuals who do not utilize repression as a mechanism of defense are characteristically extropunitive and non-hypnotizable. (26)

McCary (20) compared the P-F protocols obtained from Negro and white students attending high school in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania with those of Negro and white high school students in Austin, Texas. The northern group was significantly more aggressive than the southern group, irrespective of the students' race. Negro students displayed an over-all tendency to be more overtly aggressive. Neither racial group was found to display any significant sexual differences, but the Negro girls tended to be more aggressive than the boys of either group. Southern Negro boys, like southern girls, gave significantly more passive and dependent type responses than the southern white boys who responded in a more aggressive manner. McCary's research apparently proves the P-F Study capable of identifying certain "ethnic and cultural reactions to frustration." (20, p. 321)

D. P-F Modifications. Research completed with modifications of the P-F,

to show differences in responses that may be attributed to differences existing in color of test aggressor figures, is directly related to the experimental problem of the present writer. Winslow and Brainerd (37) compared responses of Negro and white subjects on the P-F and found Negro subjects use more ego defensive and need persistent type responses than a comparable group of white subjects. In another portion of their study they shaded some of the pictures in the P-F to represent Negro aggressors, in order to have a test containing Negro as well as white aggressors. All subjects were tested with this P-F modification, and it was found that the Negro subjects gave more extropunitive responses if the frustrating agent was Negro than if he was white and still more impunitive responses if the frustrating agent was white rather than Negro. White subjects were found to give more extropunitive responses to the Negro frustrating agent than to the white agent.

The initial difference between the above study and the proposed study is in the use of only Negro subjects by the present writer. Moreover, the present author will use twenty-five individually administered cards instead of the booklet form of the P-F where the subject records his own response. Here, the assumption is that the individual administration of the test cards allows for a closer study of the subject's overt behavior while giving his responses. The proposed test shall not contain the standardized P-F captions, which are for testing subjects' general reaction to frustration. Statements utilized in the present writer's captions shall point to the more ego involving factors connected with white aggressors. The inclusion and use of these statements, in the proposed test, are justified by the present author as a method of identifying one possible source of the contradictory findings of the earlier investi-

gators that utilized the original P-F test captions, and changed only the color of the aggressor test figures.

Cowan (8) devised a modification of the P-F to test her problem of differences shown by Negro subjects in responding to white aggressors as compared to Negro aggressors. Cowan's P-F was very similar in design to Winslow's P-F, but her findings are contradictory. Her Negro subjects made no differentiation whatsoever between white and Negro aggressors, as they responded just as aggressively to the white figures as they did to the Negro figures. This finding led Cowan to conclude that Negroes respond to all aggressors in an individual manner, independent of any sociocultural factors.

By this time the reader probably recognizes the flexibility in the P-F Study method for studying problems concerned with motivating subjects by making them ego-involved. A modification of the test, as devised by Brown (4) to study anti-Semitism, is an interesting case in point. Brown was not interested in studying the direction and type of aggression in response to frustration, but rather to study hostile racial attitudes as they were expressed and worded in the test by the subject.

Brown's P-F contained six of Rosenzweig's P-F pictures to afford him some information on his subjects' general response to frustration. Three pictures portrayed the Negro as a source of frustration for a white figure, while three others depicted the white figure as being a source of frustration for the Negro figure. Since Brown's central problem concerned itself with anti-Semitism, most of the twenty-four pictures were drawn to show certain prejudiced stereotyped features that are commonly attributed to the Jew. Captions used in the pictures also referred to commonly heard prejudiced conceptions

associated with the Jew. Prior to their being tested with the Brown P-F, the three subjects used in the study had been identified by another measure as being progressively and distinctly low, high, or passive in their anti-Semitism. Instead of subjecting the responses of these three subjects to Rosenzweig's scoring methods, Brown made a qualitative analysis of the clinical interviews and inquiry. The results of this qualitative study found the highly prejudiced subject openly expressed his anti-Semitism. In the test's role-reversal situations, wherein the subject responded for a Jewish character, the prejudiced subject rejected anti-Semitism as affording any real, or improper, source of frustration for Jews. The subject having a low prejudice score tended to protest discrimination, while the subject that scored "indifferent" appeared to prefer dodging the issue entirely.

Brown's study introduces an interesting problem, that is, the response of subjects to role-reversal situations. The research of the present writer shall contain some of these role-reversal situations, wherein the Negro subjects respond for test figures being accused of espousing prejudiced ideas. As may be gathered from the above, the major similarity of Brown's study to the present writer's is the inclusion of prejudiced stereotyped statements and situations.

It has been shown that in some instances subjects are incapable of recording their own responses in a test booklet--as customarily done with the standardized P-F Study. In working with fifty psychiatric patients at the University of Minnesota Hospital, Simos (34) found that he could obtain better results by pasting the test pictures on individual cards and recording the responses as they were made by the subject. This procedure of individual ad-

ministration will be utilized in the proposed research, not necessarily because of any inadequacies existing in the subjects, but rather for the experimenter's purpose of observing the overt behavior of subjects while responding to different color of aggressors.

E. Summary. The above review of the literature attempts to show the versatility of the Rosenzweig method, and the contributions made by various researchers to the method of the present writer. The number of P-F Study modifications, constructed to study various problems, is possible because of the Study's being primarily an experimental tool. "The clinical application of the Study represents a secondary interest." (27, p. 303)

According to Rosenzweig, subjects may respond in the psychodiagnostic situation "at any of...three levels and behavior may be characterized as either opinion, overt or implicit." (29, p. 63) The first of these three levels is further described by Rosenzweig as representing a subjective level, wherein the subjects realize themselves to be direct objects of observation, and therefore respond to the pictures in a "self critical or censored response in keeping with what is proper or sociably acceptable." (29, p. 63) Behavior on questionnaires, attitude polls and in autobiographies are examples of performance on an opinion level. The second, or overt level, may be termed the objective level, and is best obtained from subjects by time sampling observations, miniature life situations, physiological measurements and some rating scales. In this second level the "subject functions as he observably would in the corresponding actual situation of every day life." (29, p. 63) In Rosenzweig's third, implicit or projective level, the subjects utilize some "ego-neutral object," for purposes of responding "...impersonally in terms of

unconscious or latent attitudes, feelings or thoughts." (29, p. 69) This third level is the area usually tapped by commonly used projective techniques.

The present writer holds that an evaluation can be made of the foregoing P-F studies, and their modifications, on the basis of level of behavior tested. All of the earlier studies, save Brown's (4), held picture captions in an ego-neutral state, and relied solely on the color of test figures as the ego-involving factor for subjects. The research of these earlier investigators has resulted in contradictory findings because they did not contain ego-involving material readily recognizable to all Negro subjects. In short, the present writer is of the opinion that oftentimes the spoken word is more important than the color of aggressor in the influencing of subjects' responses. The proposed P-F modification seeks to elicit responses from the second, overt, and more objective of the levels described by Rosenzweig. The procedure of the present experimenter could possibly resolve, or explain, some of the sources causing conflicting results.

The test card captions utilized in the present research seeks the duplication of those miniature life situations commonly encountered by Negroes. The inclusion of biased situations within the test is considered by the present writer to point up and vivify the task for the subject, better than possible with any ego-neutral material. It is important for the experimenter to know the subjects' conscious and overt behavior under these prejudiced conditions.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

A. Test Design. Modifications in the P-F were constructed, a priori, by the present writer so as to measure responses of Negro subjects to situations wherein there were, 1) white aggressors and Negro victims, 2) Negro aggressors and Negro victims and, 3) Negro aggressors and white victims. To achieve this, and for comparative and correlation purposes, the twenty-five cartoons making up the test were subdivided into five subtests, divisions, or as used in this study, 'areas.' Each one of the test's five test areas contained five pictures and all pictures in any one area were, hypothetically, assumed to measure one of the three above described aggressor-victim situations. Appendix I affords the reader some description of the different test areas, the rationale entering into the construction of the area and the captions, or statements, attributed to the aggressors depicted in each of the five test areas. Within the wording of these captions will be recognized situations commonly encountered by Negroes. In Appendix II will be found photostat copies of the test cards, which have been arranged in their numerical sequence, or order of presentation to the subject.

The twenty-five 7 x 7 test cards, as duplicated in Appendix II, were constructed from glossy white placards and contained outline drawings of two figures done in black India ink. Faces and hands of figures representing Negro figures were filled in with the ink, while those representing white figures

were left unshaded. The absence of any facial features, other than those commonly associated with profiles, can also be noted in the photostat copies of the test.

Figures representing the aggressors were always placed on the cards' right side. The captions appearing over the aggressor figures are so phrased to depict the aggressor attributing undesirable traits or behavior to the second figure representing the victim. Furthermore, these test captions were always worded in the singular person, neither do they make any direct reference to any race or color, nor do they contain any delimiting lines that would specifically identify the caption with the aggressor figure. It was the task of the subjects to respond as would the depicted victims experiencing frustration from a prejudiced aggressor. Presumably, the subjects would read into the test cards and captions their applicability to himself, or to all other Negroes.

B. Test Administration. All of the tests were individually administered by the present writer in a private interviewing room. Each card was presented to the subject singly and in succession. The instructions given subjects taking this modified form of the P-F test were similar to instructions utilized in the administration of the unmodified form of the P-F test. Subjects' task was described and explained to them individually in the following manner:

I have here some pictures in which two people are shown talking to each other. There is some printing on the picture which shows what one person is saying to the other, and it is your job to speak out what you think this other person would answer, or what he would say. There are no right or wrong answers, as everybody talks differently, but I just want to find out how you would answer and what you would say. So, just say the very first thing that comes into your mind.

All of the subjects' questions were answered freely and every attempt was made to make the subjects feel at ease. For those subjects that continued to be hesitant, appeared anxious about taking the test, or inquired further as to the purpose of the test, the writer explained that he was conducting a "test on peoples' feelings about certain things." It was further explained and stressed that the test results could have no possible effect on their school or court records. When the subject indicated a willingness to cooperate, the first card, from the stack of twenty-five cards turned face down on the desk, was handed to the subject. While the subject held the card, the experimenter stated:

Here is the first card, and one man is shown saying to the other man: "You are not worth as much money to this company as the other people here." Now what would the other person say, what would he answer?

For those subjects that persisted in their contentions of not knowing the meaning of the caption or their task, the statement on the card was reread at an even slower rate than the one-word-a-second method used in the original presentation. After the subject had completed his response to the first card, the experimenter made some complementary and encouraging remarks while exchanging cards with the subject. This second card, and similarly modified for all succeeding cards, was prefaced with:

Now, in this card one person is shown saying: "Something stinks here and it must be you." Now, what would the other person answer, what would he say?

Card number nine, in the experimenter's presentation order to the subject, was the first card wherein there was some duplication of a previous card. Subjects making note, or referring to this, were advised:

You can treat it as if you had it before, or differently if you want to. Just handle it in any way that you like.

The time interval, between the completion of the reading of the test caption by the experimenter to the first utterance made by the subject, was recorded and referred to as 'reaction time.' The total amount of time consumed in responding to the test card's aggressor was also recorded, and designated as the 'response time.' The writer was able to avoid confusion in the recording of these two time intervals by using the dot-a-second method for the reaction time and a stop watch for keeping response time. The noting of these two time intervals permitted the experimenter to ascertain the possible differences existing in the amount of time utilized by subjects in responding to and/or with white aggressors, and to furthermore relate them to the time intervals accorded situations containing Negro aggressors.

Responses of the subjects were recorded verbatim by the experimenter, and upon the subjects' completion of all twenty-five cards, the experimenter pleasantly suggested to the subject that the test had not been too difficult. At this stage the experimenter sought some conception of the subject's overall views concerning the test. It was believed, by the writer, that this 'inquiry' could afford some interesting basis for the comparison of responses in regard to the subjects' admitted conceptions regarding their task. This inquiry phase of the administration specifically sought information as to what the subjects considered to be the most pervading aspect of the test, or what most attracted their attention. The inquiry began with the general question: "What did you notice about the test?" If this failed to elicit from the subject any identifiable information, the experimenter continued with: "What about the test do you remember?" "What do you think was the purpose of the test, what did you

see in the test?" Because of the writer's concern with the subjects' taking cognizance of racial features in the test, the inquiry was concluded with: "Did you notice anything about the test, what were the people in the test doing?" Finally, for those subjects having made no reference whatsoever to the racial features of the test, the writer requested: "Did the people in the test have any particular race? What race were the people in the test?"

C. Test Scoring. Scoring of the responses followed Rosenzweig exclusively. These scores were the basis for all comparisons among the five different test areas, individuals and certain subgroupings of subjects. Such auxiliary methods as reaction time, response time, and word usage were only means of comparing performance of subjects in these areas with that obtained using Rosenzweig's scoring. Reference to Appendix III shall indicate for the reader the type and direction of aggression as scored in the present study, along with a description and definition of the terms for the present writer.

D. Statistical Procedures. The chi square test of independence (13 pp. 251-253) was applied to the frequency type Rosenzweig scores obtained in the study. Performance of the subjects on the five test areas were compared on the basis of the total number of responses contributed by each area to the various Rosenzweig scoring categories.

Data obtained concerning time intervals and number of words utilized by the subjects in their responses were also compared by use of the statistic chi square. Rosenzweig's scoring categories were the criteria by means of which subject differences were measured, according to certain variables suggested by information obtained from the subjects' records and files made available to the author.

Some effort was made by the experimenter to ascertain the reliability of his P-F modification. The total number of responses, given by all fifty-two subjects, to each of the six scoring categories was obtained for the first twelve cards in the order of presentation to the subject. Responses to the last thirteen cards were similarly handled, thereby permitting a comparison of the subjects' performance on the first twelve cards with that in the last thirteen cards. The chi square obtained from the comparison of the test's split halves was 0.0, and this complete absence of any significant difference between the first and second halves of the test was interpreted, by the author, to indicate a perfect correlation between the two halves. At least the experimenter could assume his test to be a measure of the same thing in the last half of the test as in the first. The validity of the test would receive its evaluation from the performance of subjects within the five test areas, and a comparison of this performance with the purpose for which the various areas had been constructed by the author.

E. Subjects. The sample used for the present research consisted of fifty-two Negro boys who had been detained in Chicago's Arthur J. Audy Home for Children. Only subjects between ages thirteen and seventeen (mean age 15.25) were tested since this age range comprised the upper age limit of boys in the Home. A mean educational level of 8.02 was established for the sample.

During the actual testing session, no attempt was made to interrogate the subjects regarding their home conditions or reasons for their referral to the Home. With some subjects this proved to be difficult, due to the experimenter's having had prior contact with twenty-one subjects while acting in his official capacity of intake worker. The experimenter's earlier role had con-

sisted of his interrogating the child regarding the reason for his referral, and investigating his case at great length. Every effort was made to impress these subjects that the experimenter was now performing in another, and entirely unofficial capacity.

Various subgroupings of subjects were arrived at by consulting the records in the Home, made available to the writer. This process permitted the comparison of subjects' responses on basis of personal and familial information without having to consult the subjects during the testing periods. At the time of their taking the test, the subjects were found to have had residing in their homes a mean number of 1.85 siblings (range 0-8), and were found to range from zero to nine (Mean 1.62) in previous number of admissions to the Andy Home. Of the total sample, twenty-eight subjects had earlier experienced detention in either the Illinois State Training School for Boys, or the Chicago Parental School--thereby indicating the more delinquent group of children tested. Only eleven subjects of southern descent were found to have resided in Chicago less than seven years. Including a possible step-parent, twenty-three of the subjects were from homes containing both parental figures.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. In the introductory chapter of this research the experimenter adopted three provisional suppositions as the foci of this study. The findings relative to these hypothesis will be discussed at this time.

1. Responses of Negro subjects are modified and altered in accordance with the race of the aggressor.

The validity of this hypothesis seems to rest upon the ability of the author's P-F Study to elicit responses on cards containing white aggressors that are significantly different from those responses to cards containing Negro aggressors. The methodology and fundamental assumptions pertinent to the inclusion of five sections, or test areas, for the measurement of these differences are given in Appendix I. Here, it was pointed out that Negroes were depicted as being frustrated by white aggressors in areas 'A' and 'C', and by Negro aggressors in areas 'B' and 'D'. Another, the fifth area, area 'E', was hypothesized to be a role-reversal situation, in that each picture depicted a white being subjected to frustration by a Negro. Later to prove of even greater moment, was the reduplication of card captions comprising area 'C' within area 'D'.

A comparison of the proportions in Table II signify the "E" score to rank first in order of preference, and to comprise almost fifty per cent of all responses given in each of five test areas. The remaining five scoring categories display wide rank-order variations. This observation implies that

subjects responded without concern for the test area, or color of aggressor, in a hostile, threatening and irritated manner. The observed differences found existing between the total number of responses accorded the various scoring categories by each of the five test areas were tested for significance. In Table II may be found the sums contributed by each of the six scoring categories to the composite chi square; chi squares obtained in the test for significance of differences existing between any two pairs of five test areas.

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES GIVEN BY TOTAL SAMPLE
TO EACH OF FIVE TEST AREAS

Area	Responses*						Total
	I'	E	I	e	i	Mn	
A	59.0 (.23)	84.0 (.33)	26.5 (.10)	19.0 (.07)	50.5 (.20)	19.0 (.07)	258.0 (1.00)
B	17.0 (.07)	110.5 (.44)	65.5 (.26)	3.5 (.01)	37.0 (.15)	18.5 (.07)	252.0 (1.00)
C	22.5 (.09)	127.0 (.50)	32.5 (.13)	33.0 (.13)	21.5 (.08)	17.5 (.07)	254.0 (1.00)
D	20.0 (.08)	127.5 (.51)	37.0 (.15)	24.5 (.10)	21.0 (.08)	21.0 (.08)	251.0 (1.00)
E	24.5 (.10)	107.5 (.43)	31.5 (.12)	19.5 (.08)	55.5 (.22)	13.0 (.05)	251.0 (1.00)

*Enclosed within parenthesis is the proportion of the number of responses accorded each cell within its given row, or 'area'.

Further reference to Table II, and the column of chi squares, show each of the test areas to be largely different from every other area. This

wide discrepancy between hypothesis and observation extends beyond the .01 per cent level of confidence in all instances, save that between areas 'C' and 'D'.

TABLE II
CORRELATION OF RESPONSES GIVEN BY TOTAL SAMPLE
TO EACH OF FIVE TEST AREAS

Test Areas Compared	Responses*						Chi Square**
	I'	E	I	e	i	Mm	
A							
B	22.23	4.25	17.46	10.32	0.00	0.00	54.26
C	15.78	9.43	3.99	0.71	11.23	0.04	41.18
D	18.21	10.18	2.04	0.00	11.38	0.00	41.81
E	13.33	3.44	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.77
B							
C	0.72	1.02	11.37	23.61	4.24	0.04	41.00
D	0.26	1.38	7.80	15.84	4.35	0.16	29.79
E	1.38	0.04	11.78	11.18	3.77	0.94	29.09
C							
D	0.12	0.02	0.35	1.16	0.00	0.36	2.01
E	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.32	15.42	0.00	18.74
D							
E	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.56	0.00	15.56

Confidence level for five degrees of freedom:
.01~15.086 .05~11.070

*Numbers represent the cell square contingencies obtained in the computation of the chi square for data indicated in the individual rows.

**Sum of squared contingencies within the individual rows, or that is, the chi square comparison of test areas indicated in the individual rows.

The subjects' use of 44 per cent of "E" responses on Negro aggressors and only 33 per cent on white aggressors, in areas 'A' and 'B' respectively, would appear to support the present writer's hypothesis. However, the findings of significantly different responses to the white aggressors included in areas 'A' and 'C', and the findings of significant differences between the colored aggressors depicted in the areas 'B' and 'D' demands further examination. An explanation for these contradictory response patterns can be found in areas 'C' and 'D', areas containing different color of aggressors, but identical card captions, or words attributed to the aggressors. Lack of significant differences between areas 'C' and 'D' is shown in the chi square of 2.01, a difference to be expected 80 per cent of the time. It appears, then, that the present author's P-F modification has failed to elicit responses from Negro subjects that could be described as showing a differentiation between white and Negro aggressors. Those differences found in responses to the five test areas are more feasibly attributable to the differences existing in the test cards' captions.

The pertinency of the above observations receive further support in the test for significance of differences existing between three specialized cards. These three cards were purported to contain three different frustrator-aggressor situations, while retaining identical test card captions. Two of these cards, eight and seventeen, depicted the Negro being frustrated by white and Negro aggressors respectively, while card twenty-four contained a white figure being subjected to frustration from a Negro aggressor. A chi square of 1.54 substantiated the existence of no real differences in the proportion of responses conferred upon different color of aggressors, where card captions

are held constant.

Thus, Negro subjects utilized in the present sample responded just as aggressively to white aggressors as they did to Negro aggressors, furthermore they displayed no essential change in their responses to situations containing whites being subjected to frustration by Negroes. Embodied within the second hypothesis are more ramifications of the immateriality of the differences existing between the test areas, and shall subsequently lead to even further refutation of the first hypothesis.

B. Responses of Negro subjects on the proposed test will display a high degree of similarity, regardless of method of analysis or measure of performance utilized.

In some instances, the subjects did not utilize any of the scoring categories referred to above, but sought instead to defend themselves by either, 1) aggressively denying their being at fault, or 2) denying their essential guilt by citing extenuating circumstances. The experimenter applied a chi square test to Rosenzweig "super ego" scores, in order to ascertain the significance of differences observed in the responses of subjects within the five test areas. The interpretations possible from these ten chi squares, obtained in the comparison of the "super ego" type scores accorded each of the test areas by the subjects, were found to be identical with those interpretations made possible while utilizing the earlier described scores.

Therefore, none of the regular Rosenzweig scoring categories appear able to differentiate between races of aggressors. The writer sought the use of methods, other than Rosenzweig's scoring, through which subjects might manifest their differences to color of aggressors. Two time intervals were

recorded and studied by the experimenter. The total amount of time utilized by the subjects in responding to each of the cards was referred to as "Response Time". In the comparison of time devoted by subjects on white aggressor cards (average time 19.25") to the time devoted to Negro aggressors (average time 21.52") the experimenter obtained a chi square of 2.40, and with eight degrees of freedom, this difference can be expected 97 per cent of the time. This finding shows that the subjects reacted aggressively to their white aggressor cards and Negro aggressor cards for an almost equal period of time.

It was earlier hypothesized that Negro subjects would be more likely to weigh and consider their responses before responding to a white aggressor, whereas they would respond without such consideration, or display of compunctions to the Negro aggressor. To test this, the experimenter recorded the time between the completion of the reading of the test caption, to the time that the subject made his first utterance. This time interval was designated, "Reaction Time". The observed time differences between subjects' responding to white aggressors (average time 16.07") and to Negro aggressors, (average time 16.99") was shown by chi square to be without any significant differences.

Still seeking some area wherein race of aggressor might have influenced subjects' responses, the experimenter obtained the mean number of words spoken by subjects in responding to white aggressors (23.77) and compared this with the mean number of words used in responding to a Negro aggressor (22.86). The significance of the observed differences between number of words used with the different color of aggressors, as measured by chi square, was found to be zero. The uniformity of these findings can be noted as being a further refutation of the first hypothesis, but is similarly support for the author's

second hypothesis wherein consistency of results was foreseen.

C. Responses of Negro subjects retain a Negro-group uniformity and consistency which supersedes any subgroup distinctions within this Negro-group.

Since race of aggressor did not affect the scoring categories, singly or in groups, we have to presume subjects responded in an individual manner to the test captions, without display of any regard as to the race of the test figure. The question now is the determination of the variables that would cause differences in responses of subjects to the test as a whole. The experimenter had, guaranteed the anonymity of subjects participating in the experiment by not requesting, and actually discouraging any discussion of their individual cases, or reasons for their being referred to the Audy Home. Subjects may, or may not, have realized that records concerning their cases were available for study by the experimenter.

Of immediate concern to the experimenter was the consequence of his having some earlier contact with many of the subjects. It was unavoidable and inevitable that almost half of the subjects were actually processed by the experimenter functioning in his usual official capacity of intake worker in the Audy Home. Responses of subjects having this form of earlier contact with the experimenter, were compared with the responses of the remaining subjects, and the resulting chi square (18.11; df=5) was found to be significant beyond the .01 level. Especially noticeable was the high "1" scoring in the group earlier known to the experimenter, which indicated their guilt feelings, and their expression of willingness to assume personal responsibility for resolving the frustrating situation depicted in the test cards.

Subjects making up the group of boys formerly detained in either the

Illinois State Training School, or the Chicago Parental School, were compared in a chi square test with subjects not having experienced such detention. Responses accorded the various scoring categories by those subjects having the more extensive delinquent history, as indicated by their having been formerly committed, were found to be significant beyond the 1 per cent level of confidence in the preference of mitigating the responsibility, and in the avoidance of placing the blame for the frustration on either the aggressor or himself. Subjects having had no contact with these two institutions, were found to give more responses suggesting the frustrating situation to have been their just due, and to furthermore deny their being a source of frustration to others.

Within the total sample, eleven subjects were found to have recently migrated to Chicago from one of the Southern states. The responses of these subjects were compared, in a chi square test for significance, with the responses of subjects residing in Chicago seven years, or more. The resulting chi square was found to be significant beyond the .01 level. Neither of the two groups compared in this manner displayed any particularized form of response for either color of aggressor, but subjects of Southern heritage were found to respond to both Negro and white aggressors in an apologetic, easy conformity manner. The Chicago residents were found to display extropunitive-ego defensive type responses only 7 per cent more often than subjects having only recently migrated to Chicago.

Card number nine, in the order of presentation to the subject, was the first card containing a duplication of an earlier picture caption. Of the total sample, thirty subjects chose to make some comment regarding this duplication, while the remaining twenty-two subjects ignored, or preferred not

mentioning this point during the test's administration. The responses accorded the various scoring categories were compared, as with earlier discussed subgroups, and the resulting chi square was found to be significant beyond the 1 per cent level. Subjects claiming to have already seen card number nine were generally found to minimize the frustrating situation, and to rely upon time or easily ensuing circumstances to automatically solve the problem. Subjects making no reference to the duplication of cards, were found to display responses that indicated need for punishment, and to interpret the frustrating situation to be actually advantageous and satisfying.

During the inquiry, twenty-five, or 48 per cent, of the subjects commented on the test cards' content of Negro and white figures, without this having to be pointed out by the experimenter. Ten other subjects stressed the wording contained on the card and appeared interested in repeating what the depicted aggressor had said. Nine subjects sensed some form of embarrassment from the test, and apparently believed the test to be directly applicable to them and designed to place them in an unfavorable light. According to the subjects making up this last mentioned group, the test "didn't sound right", or, "it made me feel funny". The remaining eight subjects appeared to be mostly occupied with attempts at describing the whole test card, and the manner in which the figures were drawn; thereby displaying no concern for either the race of, or the statements attributed to the test figures. These four subgroups were all similar in the scoring categories utilized, with the exception of the group making an initial reference to the inclusion of white and Negro figures within the test cards. This racially concerned group was significant beyond the .01 level in the display of ego defensive behavior, and just as

significantly lower in display of need persistent types of aggressive responses. Although the group differed significantly from the other groups in types of aggressive responses, no differences were found in the direction of this aggression shown by the four subgroups, as all displayed equal proportion of extropunitive, intropunitive and impunitive responses.

The above reported findings invalidate the writer's third hypothesis, for Negro subjects in the present sample did indeed display subgroup differences. These findings furthermore point up the importance of individual reaction patterns in determining type and direction of aggression in response to frustration. However, not all of the subgroupings of subjects studied by the experimenter proved significantly different. For example, the subgroup of twenty-three subjects noted as residing with their natural parents, was not found to be significantly different in their responses from those subjects residing with only one of the natural parents, or in a foster home. The number of siblings living at home with the subject, at the time of his referral, proved to be of little import in the determination of the test responses to frustration. A test for significance of differences in responses of subjects according to their scholastic level proved to be significant (chi square 9.52; df=5) between the .05 and .10 level.

In a portion of the inquiry all subjects were requested to state what they had conceived as being the purpose of the test. Twenty subjects, or 38 per cent, claimed not to know of any possible purpose for the test, but twelve other subjects, 23.1 per cent of the total sample, described the test to be some measure of intelligence, in such terms as: "To see what you know". "A test for the brain." "A test of ignorance--how ignorant you are--how smart

you are." Also included under this latter grouping were those subjects claiming the test to: "Test your ability to answer questions." "Tell if people need to be in an institution or crazy or not."

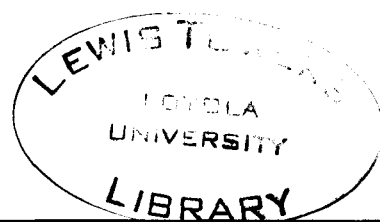
Other responses given by subjects during the inquiry described the test to be some measure of personality, or an evaluation of the success or failure of their interpersonal relationships. For example, "How to have manners if something like this does come up." "Tells you what you got to do." "Finds out how you answer people." Seventeen subjects adopted personality view of the test, and their responses were compared with those twenty subjects claiming not to know the purpose of the test, and the third group of subjects holding the test to be some measure of intelligence. The chi square (8.88; df=4) test for significance of observed differences existing between these three groups of subjects was found to be only significant between the .05 and .10 level.

During the actual administration of the test, only four subjects, of the total fifty-two, made any reference to race in their test responses. The Rosenzweig scoring ascribable to the test's white and Negro aggressors by these four subjects was not found to be significantly different from the responses of other subjects including no such racial references in their responses. These quantitative findings are surprising in view of the identification of racial references within the test response. A further qualitative examination of the responses given by these four subjects reveals a typical response to some white aggressor to be, in effect, "You are just saying that because I am colored." This same subject would respond to the colored aggressor would be, in effect, "Colored people should stick together." In both

responses, subjects are displaying their irritation and are reprimanding their aggressors for the behavior they are displaying; the score necessarily accorded both responses would be the extropunitive-ego defensive score, "E".

One subject displaying overt awareness of the cast question also made reference to his being a delinquent. To cards number seven and eighteen this subject responded, "I don't steal anymore." Three other subjects were found to have also made some mention of their involvement with the law enforcement agencies. The scoring categories identified no differences in the responses of these four subjects to white and Negro aggressors, nor were there found any significant differences in the responses of these 'delinquent act mentioning' subjects, and the 'caste mentioning' subjects.

Apparently one half of the studies support the third hypothesis, while the other half rejects it, however, the finding of any significant differences between the various subject subgroupings would necessitate the rejection of the third hypothesis. This can now be done with positive assurances. The contradictory findings are additional indicators of the individual manner chosen by the subjects in responding to their task.



CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Procedure. The present investigator devised a modification of the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study for the purpose of identifying responses elicited from Negro subjects in response to prejudicial frustration. In the modified version of the test were included pictures of three different aggressor-victim relationships. Ten pictures contained white aggressors and Negro victims; ten other cards contained pictures of Negro aggressors and Negro victims. The third aggressor-victim situation consisted of five additional cards that depicted the Negro as the aggressor and a white as the victim. The experimenter offered these last five cards as an example of role-reversal in a test situation.

Expressions from the aggressor, as worded in the cards' captions, suggested the victim to be in some way undesirable or inadequate. It was the subject's task to respond for this depicted victim being subjected to this form of frustration by the test card's aggressor. The test captions themselves made no reference to race, but the situations portrayed commonly encountered, or observed, stereotyped conceptions regarding the Negro.

The number of responses accorded each of Rosenzweig's scoring categories, by the subjects making up the sample, were tabulated and compared. In addition to the use of Rosenzweig's conventional scoring, the experimenter ascertained the "reaction time", that is, time required by the subject before

making some response to the card. The time utilized by the subject in making his reply was also recorded and designated "response time."

Subjects comprising the sample were fifty-two Negro boys, between the ages of thirteen and seventeen, that were detained in Chicago's Arthur J. Audy Home for Children at the time of the study. With few exceptions, these children were delinquents awaiting some final disposition of their cases by the Cook County Family (Juvenile) Court. From information obtained during the inquiry, and records made available to the experimenter, an attempt was made to effect some subgroupings of this highly homogeneous sample.

B. Results. Within the limits of this research there is evidence to support the tenability of the following findings:

1. The experimenter's test modification did not validly differentiate between the responses of Negro subjects to white and Negro aggressors. An evaluation of responses made by four subjects who included racial references in their test responses, further proved the inability of the experimenter's scoring procedures in differentiating between responses given by the subjects to white and Negro aggressors.

2. The degree of discrepancy between hypothesis and observation was found to be significant beyond the 1 per cent level of confidence for various subgroups of:

- a) Subjects having been interviewed earlier by the experimenter regarding their delinquent acts, and those subjects having no previous contact with the experimenter.

- b) Subjects having been detained in either the Illinois State Training School, or the Chicago Parental School prior to their being tested,

and those not so detained.

c) Subjects having resided in Chicago seven or more years, and those subjects having more recently migrated from the Southern states.

d) Subjects remarking on the duplication in certain test cards, and those subjects making no comment regarding this factor.

e) Subjects describing the racial features of the test as being the most noticeable, and those subjects displaying occupation with some other test feature.

3. No real differences were shown in proportion of:

a) Subjects residing with both natural parents, and those residing with foster parents, or with only one of the natural parents.

b) Subjects having two or more siblings, and those having one or none.

c) Subjects achieving grade levels beyond the elementary level, and those subjects still in attendance in elementary schools.

d) Subjects professing to hold a true knowledge as to the purpose of the test, and subjects claiming no such knowledge.

D. Conclusion. The results of the experimenter's research argue the importance of personal factors in formulating the subjects' responses to the test cards. Also established, was the inability of the experimenter's techniques in uncovering certain racial inferences made by some subjects in their responses. Better than half of the subjects tested readily described racial features in the test figures as being the most noticeable aspect of the test, and four of these subjects actually made some reference to "race" in their test responses. However, the quantitative scoring failed to identify that

which can be so readily shown by a content analysis of the responses. It is then apparent, from the qualitative examination of the results, that a given subject can indeed give the same type and direction of aggression to white and Negro test figures, and include some reference to the race of the aggressor in each.

These findings do not form an impasse if the test sample is regarded as one displaying no specific, or different, responses to one race as opposed to the other. The basically aggressive individual will respond just as aggressively toward a white aggressor as he would to a Negro aggressor, while the more subdued type subject behaves contrariwise. True, subjects of predominantly Southern breeding appeared more interested in mitigating the importance of the frustrating situation, but this type response was elicited by both white and Negro aggressors.

The personal needs of the subjects dominated any racial, or caste distinctions known to these subjects. In all instances the subjects appeared to desire responding to the test card in a manner, considered by themselves as being, least likely to arouse the disapproval of the experimenter, or that would place them in an unfavorable light. For example, subjects receiving renewed assurances as to their task, on cards duplicating some earlier cards, were significantly more willing to openly express their hostility and display irritation, rather than behave in the subdued manner of their counterparts. Subjects enduring detention for the first time apparently sought to impress with a form of self admonition, while the recidivist behaved in a non-committal manner that could be judged as being neither offensive or indifferent, but which could serve to leave the recidivist open to leniency from some possibly

arbitrary judge of his behavior.

Another interesting demonstration of the consequence of personal factors in the formulating of subjects' responses, can be shown in the performance of subjects having some prior contact with the experimenter. Subjects previously known by the experimenter were found to be significantly different from the remaining subjects in preferring to profess some sense of guilt concerning their being the cause of the undesirable situation, and in willingness to modify their behavior in an acceptable manner. The writer concludes from these findings that those subjects with whom he had had earlier contact, chose to ignore his explanations and statements of their being tested in an unofficial capacity, or that the results of the test would have any influence on their records and the court's disposition of their individual cases. These subjects chose to behave in a manner which they conceived would be most acceptable to anyone possibly having something to do with effecting their release from the detention home.

The present study of responses of Negro subjects to cards containing racial features has not been undertaken as a definitive investigation. Additional studies with other groups are certainly indicated. Some immediately apparent areas for investigation would be, instructions given subjects, and procedures utilized during test administration. The experimenter-subject role appears to have some special significance, and the need for other card captions, testing situations and scoring techniques further point up the uncovered areas of the present study.

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APPENDIX I

DESCRIPTION OF TEST AREAS AND STATEMENTS USED IN THE PRESENT RESEARCH

AREA A: WHITE AGGRESSOR--NEGRO VICTIM

The pictures comprising AREA A depicts a white aggressor describing the Negro victim as being in possession of some undesirable character trait, but this statement could also be recognized as being a commonly heard Negro stereotype. The subject is to respond for the victim, for whom there is printed no reply. Statements used for this portion of the test are,

Card numbers:

1. You are not worth as much money to this company as the other people here.
6. Serving you in here would run all on my good customers away.
11. You don't have brains enough to do this work.
16. We are trying to maintain a nice place here and it is best to keep you out.
21. Your children's bad language and ugly thoughts are a bad influence on my children.

AREA B: NEGRO AGGRESSOR--NEGRO VICTIM

In AREA B, the depicted Negro victim is subjected to the same form of frustration as in AREA A, but in AREA B the aggressor is another Negro. Both the drawings and the statements used in the pictures comprising AREA B are different from those of AREA A. Statements used for this portion of the test are,

Card numbers:

5. Your conduct and ugly actions are keeping me back.
10. You always want to act more important than you really are.
15. You are just plain lazy and too shiftless to come to work.
20. I have never known you to have much dignity or self pride.
25. You are late for everything.

AREA C: WHITE AGGRESSOR--NEGRO VICTIM

AREA C is designed to be a measure of the same thing as AREA A, that is, the subjects' responses to white aggressors. The white aggressor is pictured as challenging the Negro victim as being undesirable, unworthy, or in other ways subjecting the Negro to superego frustration. Only the colors of the ag-

gressors and victims in AREA C are similar to those in AREA A, as both the statements and pictures are different for the two AREAS. Statements used for this portion of the test are,

Card numbers:

- 3. Why don't you buy something you need rather than spend it on a lot of whiskey.
- 8. You are talking too loud and saying nothing worthwhile.
- 14. Your weak mind is too full of religion and superstition for me to believe you.
- 18. I would let you work here but I know that you will start stealing if I do.
- 23. Something stinks here and it must be you.

AREA D: NEGRO AGGRESSOR--NEGRO VICTIM

The color of the aggressors and victims in AREA D are similar to those in AREA B in the use of pictures containing a Negro aggressor and a Negro victim. However, the statements and pictures used in AREA D are different from those in AREA B, being similar to AREA B only in the colors of the depicted figures. The statements and pictures for AREA D are an exact duplicate of those contained in AREA C, and only differing from AREA C in the color of the aggressor. Statements used for this portion of the test are:

Card numbers:

- 2. Something stinks here and it must be you.
- 7. I would let you work in here but I know you will start stealing if I do.
- 12. Your weak mind is too full of religion and superstition for me to believe you.
- 17. You are talking too loud and saying nothing worthwhile.
- 22. Why don't you buy something you need rather than spend it on a lot of whiskey.

AREA E: NEGRO AGGRESSOR--WHITE VICTIM

In AREA E the Negro aggressor is accusing and describing a white victim as being biased in his behavior and prejudiced in his thinking. The Negro is therefore depicted in a role-reversal situation, wherein he is proving to be a source of frustration for a white victim. The subject has to respond for this white victim being subjected to frustration from a Negro. Each of the five pictures and captions used in this AREA was obtained from one of the other four AREAS, and only the color of the aggressors and victims were changed to allow for their use in AREA E. Statements used for this portion of the test are,

Card numbers:

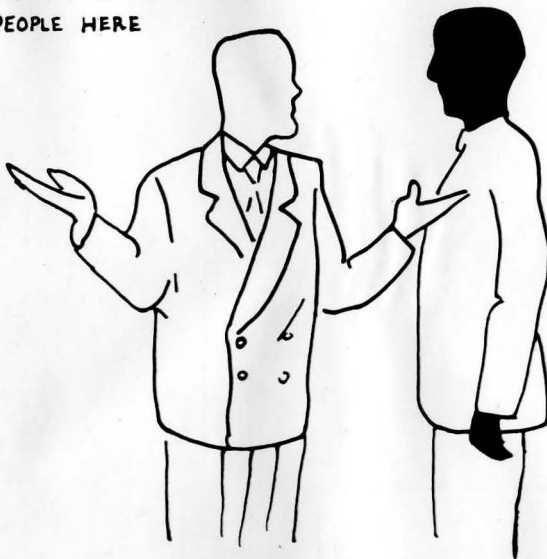
- 4. You always want to act more important than you really are.
- 9. Your conduct and ugly actions are keeping me back.
- 13. Your children's bad language and ugly thoughts are a bad influence on my children.
- 19. We are trying to maintain a nice place here and it is best to keep you out.
- 24. You are talking too loud and saying nothing worthwhile.

SOMETHING
STAYS HERE
AND IT MUST
BE YOU

APPENDIX II

PHOTOSTATS OF TEST CARDS USED IN THE PRESENT RESEARCH*

YOU ARE NOT WORTH AS
MUCH MONEY TO THIS
COMPANY AS THE OTHER
PEOPLE HERE



1**

A

-

*The picture duplicates are only 60 per cent as large as the original 7x7 test cards.

**Each of the notations alongside the individual pictures represents that pictures relationship with the remainder of the twenty-five test cards composing the total test, as shown in Appendix III.

The topmost number represents the card's order of presentation to the subject.

The medial alphabet denotes the test area being measured by that particular card.

The lower alphabet-number combination denotes the test card and area wherein the same test caption is duplicated.

SOMETHING
STINKS HERE
AND IT MUST
BE YOU



2

D

C23

YOUR CONDUCT AND
UGLY ACTIONS ARE
KEEPING ME BACK

3

C

D22; E24

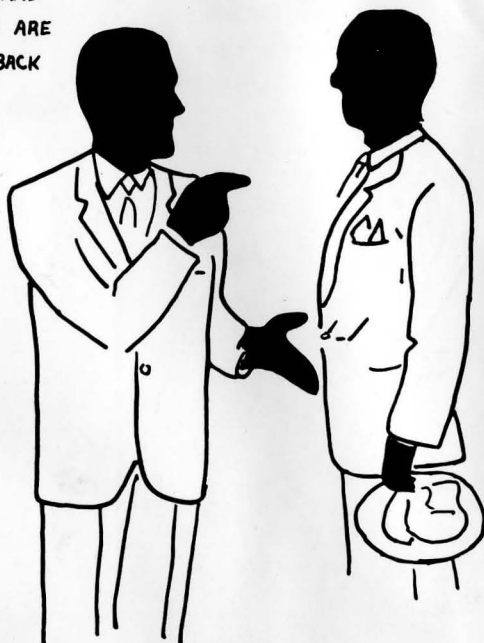
WHY DON'T YOU BUY
SOMETHING YOU NEED
RATHER THAN SPEND IT
ON A LOT OF WHISKEY



YOU ALWAYS WANT TO
ACT MORE IMPORTANT
THAN YOU REALLY ARE



YOUR CONDUCT AND
UGLY ACTIONS ARE
KEEPING ME BACK



S
B
E9

SERVING YOU IN HERE
WOULD RUN ALL OF
MY GOOD CUSTOMERS
AWAY



6

A

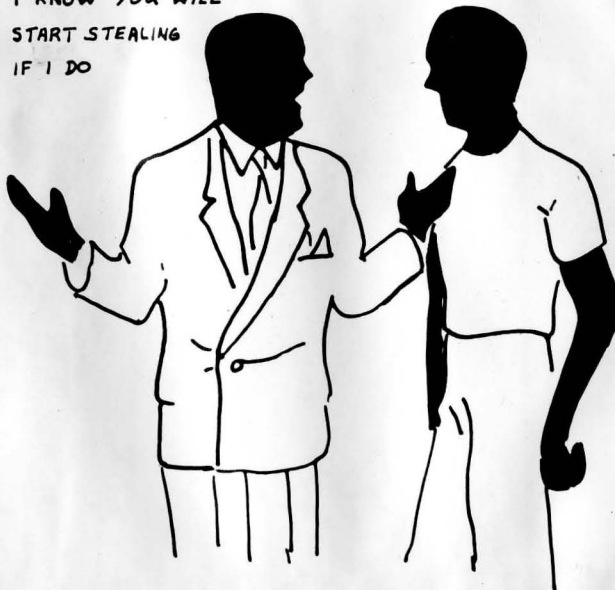
-

7

D

C18

I WOULD LET YOU
WORK IN HERE BUT
I KNOW YOU WILL
START STEALING
IF I DO



YOU ARE TALKING TOO
LOUD AND SAYING
NOTHING WORTHWHILE



YOUR CONDUCT AND
UGLY ACTIONS ARE
KEEPING ME BACK



9
E
B5

YOU ALWAYS WANT TO
ACT MORE IMPORTANT
THAN YOU REALLY ARE



53

10

B

FL

11

YOU DON'T HAVE
BRAINS ENOUGH TO DO
THIS JOB



12

D

C14

YOUR WEAK MIND IS
TO FULL OF RELIGION
AND SUPERSTITION FOR
ME TO BELIEVE YOU



YOUR CHILDREN'S BAD
LANGUAGE AND UGLY
THOUGHTS ARE A BAD
INFLUENCE ON MY
CHILDREN

13

E

A21



YOUR WERK MIND IS
TOO FULL OF RELIGION
AND SUPERSTITION FOR
ME TO BELIEVE YOU



14

C

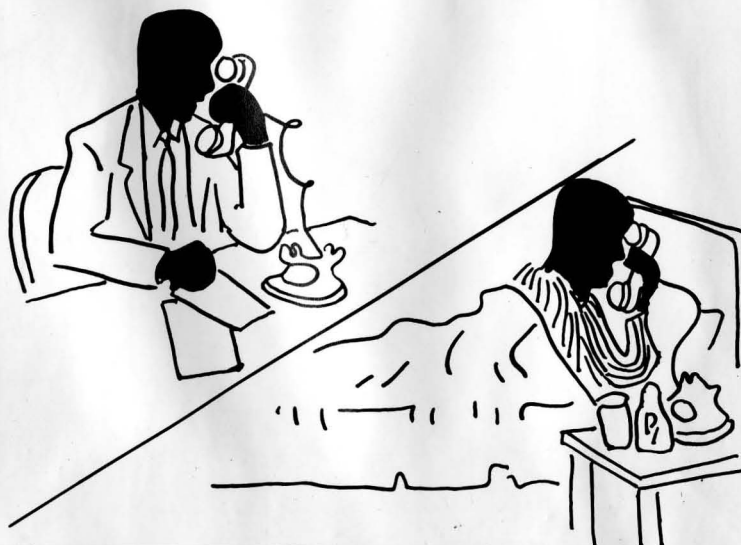
D12

YOU
TOO
NOT
B

15

B

YOU ARE JUST PLAIN
LAZY AND TOO SHIFTLESS
TO COME TO WORK

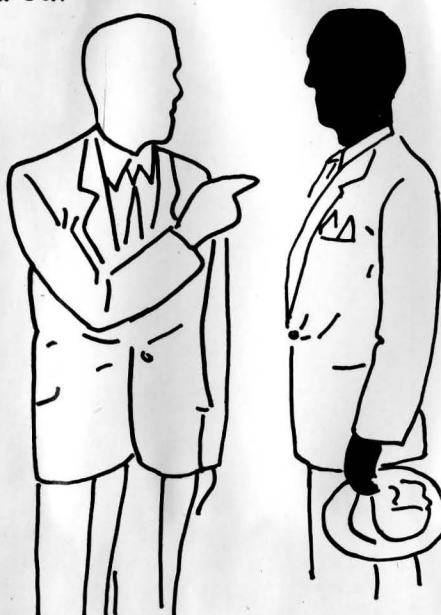


16

A

B19

WE ARE TRYING TO
MAINTAIN A NICE PLACE
HERE AND IT IS BEST TO
KEEP YOU OUT



YOU ARE TALKING
TOO LOUD AND SAYING
NOTHING
WORTHWHILE

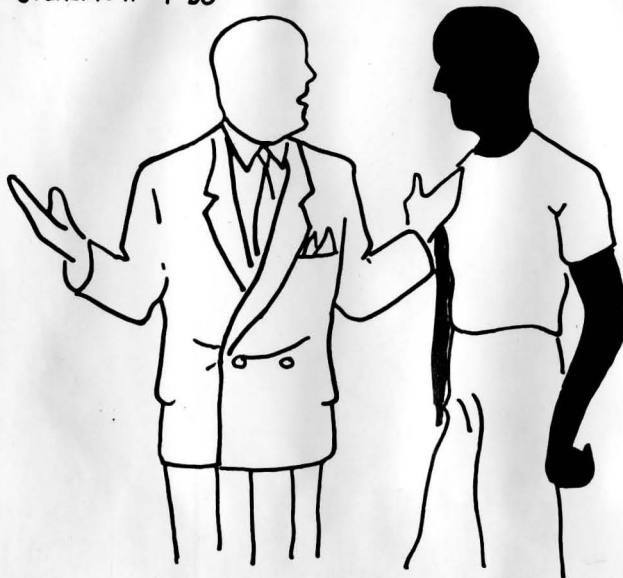


17

D

C8

I WOULD LET YOU
WORK IN HERE BUT I
KNOW YOU WILL START
STEALING IF I DO



57

18

C

D7

WE ARE TRYING TO
MAINTAIN A NICE PLACE
HERE AND IT IS BEST TO
KEEP YOU OUT



19

E

A16

CHILDREN

20

B

I HAVE NEVER KNOWN
YOU TO HAVE MUCH
DIGNITY OR SELF PRIDE



YOUR CHILDREN'S BAD
LANGUAGE AND UGLY
THOUGHTS ARE A BAD
INFLUENCE ON MY
CHILDREN



21

A

E13

WHY DON'T YOU BUY
SOMETHING YOU NEED
RATHER THAN SPEND IT ON
A LOT OF WHISKEY



22

B

C3; E24

23

A

D2

SOMETHING STINKS
HERE AND IT MUST
BE YOU

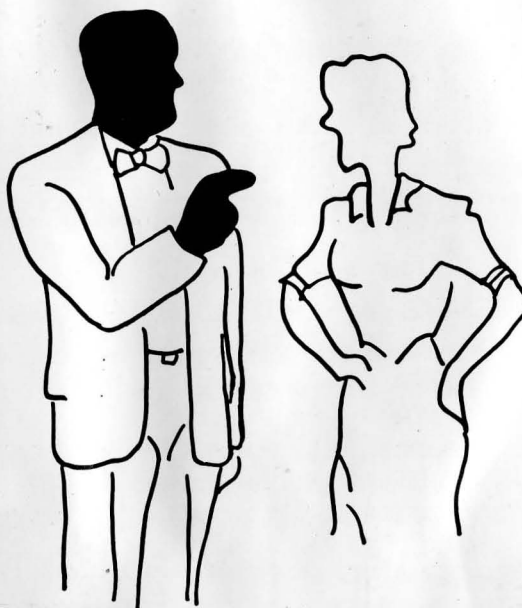


24

E

D22; C3

YOU ARE TALKING TOO
LOUD AND SAYING
NOTHING WORTHWHILE.



YOU ARE LATE
FOR EVERYTHING



25

B

-

APPENDIX III

SCORING SYMBOLS USED IN THE PRESENT STUDY AND A DESCRIPTION OF ITS USE

Symbol	Symbol's Definition*
I'	The frustrating situation is interpreted as in some way advantageous, satisfying, or deserved. (Need for punishment)
E	Blame, hostility, irritation and challenging responses directed against someone or something in the environment. Accusations, threats, reprimands, and sarcastic attacks are scored here.
I	Aggression in the form of blame, censure or self-depreciation is turned against oneself. Guilt, remorse, or inferiority feeling predominates.
e	It is demanded, expected, or strongly implied that someone else, usually the bystander, should remedy the frustrating situation.
i	The subject takes it upon himself to solve the frustrating problem, or in other ways implies some sense of personal guilt.
Mm	The responsibility of any and everyone involved in the frustrating situation is minimized. Blame is evaded, or hope is expressed that time or easily ensuing circumstances will automatically solve the problem.
<u>E</u>	In this "superego" form of response, the subject denies that he is to blame for the misdeed with which he is being charged.
<u>I</u>	The subject, while admitting his fault, denies his essential guilt by citing extenuating circumstances.

* Adapted from Rosenzweig, Saul, et al., Revised Scoring Manual for Picture-Frustration Study (Form for Adults) The Journal Press (1947) Provincetown, Massachusetts.

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Rudolph Emanuel Cook has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Psychology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

January 6, 1956
Date

Frank K. obler
Signature of Adviser